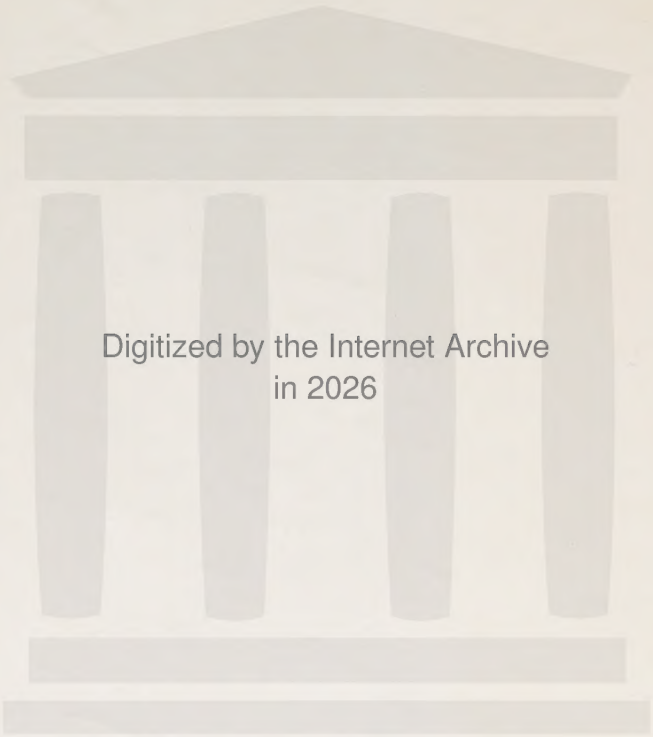
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Prospero's Island.

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Dramatic Museum

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IV 'LETTERS OF AN OLD PLAYGOER' by Matthew Arnold. With an introduction by Brander Matthews.

DISCUSSIONS OF THE DRAMA

III

Prospero's Island

BY

EDWARD EVERETT HALE

WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY

HENRY CABOT LODGE

Printed for the
Dramatic Museum of Columbia University
in the City of New York
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INTRODUCTION

During the last three centuries there has grown up an immense literature solely concerned with the play and the character of 'Hamlet.' It is not merely that this 'Hamlet' literature makes of itself a respectable library; it has been stated by Professor Lounsbury, I think, that there is a larger literature devoted to 'Hamlet' than to any other man, whether fictitious or historical, excepting of course the founders of religions. Brandes says that the literature of Hamlet is larger than that of some of the smaller nationalities of Europe, the Slovak for example. Before such evidence as this of the creative power of a great imagination one can only marvel silently and hold one's peace. And yet 'Hamlet' is only one item in the vast Shaksperian literature. In varying degrees all the plays have gathered a literature about them, each one its own, ever growing larger

as the years pass by. Among these plays other than 'Hamlet' the 'Tempest' is conspicuous in commentary and annotation. Mr. Furness, than whom there can be no higher authority, in his preface to the 'Tempest' says that despite the unusual excellence of the text "there is scarcely one of its five acts which does not contain a word or a phrase that has given rise to eager discussion; in one instance, the controversy assumes such extended proportions that in its presence even Juliet's 'runawaye's eyes may wink' and veil their lids in abashed inferiority." Mr. Furness then adds that "certain it is that with the exception of 'Hamlet' and 'Julius Caesar' no play has been more liberally annotated than the 'Tempest.' "

I confess that I was surprised to find that 'Julius Caesar' came next to 'Hamlet' in the amount of criticism, commentary and speculation which it had called forth. But it is entirely natural that notwithstanding its unusually excellent text the 'Tempest' should be third on the list. There are abundant reasons why this should be so. In the first place it is now generally accepted by those most competent to judge; indeed it may be said

that it is now proved that the 'Tempest was Shakspere's last play and in this final creation the genius of the master shone with undiminished luster. It also contains allusions, like Prospero's breaking his wand, which the lovers of Shakspere have been pleased to fancy were related to the writer himself.

In the 'Tempest,' moreover, the unities, of which it was the fashion to say at one time that Shakspere knew nothing, are observed with the most extreme care. More than once the time supposed to be occupied by the events upon the stage is pressed upon our attention so that we are compelled to realize that the action of the play occurs within limits of time but little more extensive than that actually consumed in its representation. The unity of place is assured by the fact that the scene is on an island and is confined largely to the immediate neighborhood of Prospero's cell. The unity of action is obvious, for the story and the plot are simple and direct, unbroken by digression or underplots in a most remarkable degree. It seems as if we could hear Shakspere saying "before I retire to silence I will show the world and

the champions of the unities that although I have deliberately discarded the rules which Trissino and the French and Ben Jonson have developed far beyond Aristotle to whom they attribute them, I can write a play in which these same unities shall be better and more clearly observed than in any other drama known to us." This at all events is what he did.

Then there is Caliban, one of the strangest of conceptions, unlike any creation of character in the other plays, or, indeed, in all literature. In no respect supernatural, distinctly human and yet wholly unlike the humanity we know, the theories and explanations of Caliban are well nigh as varied and as numerous as those pertaining to 'Hamlet.' The strong suggestion in the "monster's" character that here we find Shakspere's intimation of the evolution of man and of the missing link is enough of itself to fascinate inquiry and breed unending speculation.

Then there is the question of the plot. All efforts to show where Shakspere's took or whence, in the language of the wise, he "conveyed" the plot of the 'Tempest' have failed. This is a cause of very great discon-

tent. Deep hidden always in many hearts is the desire to bring down to the general average of the commonplace the man who has soared high above his fellows. It is frequently manifested in the popular preference for the amateur as against the expert. The amateur may be the veriest charlatan and liar imaginable but without proof or reason he is to be believed and crowned while the prize is refused or grudgingly given to the man who has earned it by the toil and training of a lifetime. There are always voices to whisper or to cry out that the great inventor robbed the obscure failure, that the great commander owed everything to his chief of staff, that the great painter filched his art from his unknown student. The mass of mankind fortunately are ready for hero worship and eager to follow the heroes. Not infrequently they are mistaken and deceived in their hero but none the less it is well that it should be so. For "it is better to have loved and lost than never to have loved at all." It is far better to have the generous emotion even if it leads astray now and then than to be incapable of it. This longing among minds of a certain class however to lower greatness to

the common level is especially markt in literature. In a little study of Le Sage, Sir Walter Scott says: "Le Sage's claim to originality, in this delightful work ['Gil Blas'] has been idly, I had almost said ungratefully, contested by those critics, who conceive they detect the plagiarist whenever they see a resemblance in the general subject of a work, to one which has been before treated by an inferior artist. It is a favorite theme of laborious dullness, to trace out such coincidences; because they appear to reduce genius of the higher order to the usual standard of humanity, and, of course, to bring the author nearer a level with his critics."

The results of this law, laid down by Scott, have naturally attained, in the case of Shakspere, gigantic proportions. Every word he wrote has been scanned, every allusion, every sentiment, every thought has been harried and twisted in the hope of finding evidence of plagiarism not only in books which he doubtless read but in the darkest and most obscure corners and mazes of literature where he never could have wandered. The levellers could not see that, in regard to the plots of the plays, for example, except

as a gratification of curiosity it was of no earthly consequence where Shakspere found, or borrowed, or took, or stole them. The one thing which mattered was that after his sign manual had been imposed upon the plots no man since has dared to touch them and the Duke of Marlborough could truthfully say that the only history of England known to most English-speaking people was that written by William Shakspere. In the case of the creator of 'Hamlet' and 'Falstaff,' however, the hostility to all superiority common to minds of a certain cast has gone so far that a group of persons has arisen, small but vocal, which has undertaken wholly to deny his authorship and transfer it without one scintilla of historical evidence to a great man of brilliant abilities who was as incapable of writing the plays as he was of being a true friend, an upright politician or an incorruptible judge. The miracle of Shakspere's genius is so unbearable to certain natures that they find comfort in the Baconian theory because they can understand Bacon's ability altho far beyond their own while they cannot comprehend the pure, inexplicable genius of Shakspere. Others have

sought to substitute Marlowe, others a multiple authorship for that of Shakspere. The object is not to aggrandize Bacon or Marlowe or the incorporated authors but to destroy Shakspere. It is an odd manifestation of the power of envy, which passes under many names, but which lies deep-rooted in some human hearts. Apart from this the manifestation is merely a ripple in the great current of Shaksperian fame and will, in due time, become, like Voltaire's criticism, a mere curiosity in the history and literature of the plays as they keep their course along the high road of time. Each successive century, each period comes and goes, brings its contribution toward a better understanding of the master, and also its theories and its lunacies. What is worthy of life lives, that which is worthless and born of envy and detraction or of mere fantasy perishes, but the creations of the mighty imagination pass on like the "imperial votaress in maiden meditation fancy free" to lift up and delight the world.

Like the plots and the text, like the phrases and the very words, the scenes of the plays have been swept up in the all embrac-

ing dragnet of critical examination and inquiry and among them all none perhaps has excited more interest and speculation than Prospero's Island. The learning on this subject is all gathered up by Mr. Furness in the note which begins on the first page of his Variorum edition of the 'Tempest.' There we are told that Hunter in his 'Disquisition' (1839) elaborately argued that Lampedusa lying south of Sicily and west of Malta was Prospero's Island. Then came Theodor Elze who agreed with Hunter that Shakspere had a real island in mind but that it was not Lampedusa but Pantalaria in the same region, a little further to the north. In both cases much erudition and great ingenuity are expended to prove the case but there is not the slightest real evidence to indicate that Shakspere had heard of either island or that they had even attracted any attention in the Elizabethan period.

Malone wrote a long essay to show—and he had good evidence to support his theory —that the early accounts of the Bermudas and especially the shipwreck of Sir George Somers had much to do with Shakspere's construction of the scene of the 'Tempest' and

with the storm which opens the play. This view was wholly reasonable and it was put forward with the moderation and sense of a sound critic and trained Shaksperian scholar. But others less informed were not content to stop with Malone at the suggestion that Shakspere found material for his storm and his island in the Bermuda voyages. Chalmers declares that the Bermudas were the scene of the 'Tempest.' So does Thomas Moore, who visited the Bermudas but obviously had not studied the play. So does Mrs. Jamieson and so also in these later days does Mr. Kipling, all alike not sufficiently mindful that a thoro knowledge of the play is quite as important as an acquaintance with the Bermudas when one engages in the perilous task of identifying Prospero's Island. Swift says: "What they do in heaven we are ignorant of; what they do not do we are told expressly, that they neither marry nor are given in marriage." So we may say that we are ignorant of where on the face of the waters Prospero's Island may have been, but we know where it was not situated. It was not one of the Bermudas, for Ariel says (Act I, Scene 2):

Safely in harbor
Is the King's ship; in the deep nook, where once
Thou call'dst me up at midnight to fetch dew
From the still vex'd Bermööthes,—

Ariel would hardly have brought dew *from* the Bermudas *to* the Bermudas and we may take the passage as Shakspere's distinct declaration that his readers were to understand that the island of the 'Tempest' was not one of the Bermudas.

The famous allusion to the "still vex'd Bermööthes" has, however, a very real importance in quite another way for it is one of the evidences of the date of the play. The Bermudas had long been known. In the 'Legatio Babylonica' of Peter Martyn, published in 1511, the island of "La Bermuda" is shown on a map and the name is apparently taken from a certain Juan de Bermudez, who discovered them on one of his earlier voyages. The first account of them is that of Gonzales Ferdinando d'Oviedo in 1515. In 1527 the Portuguese had a plan for colonizing them which came to nothing. They appear on Sebastian Cabot's Mappa Mundi in 1544 with the description of "De Demonios,"

which clung to them for many years. In 1593 an English seaman, Henry May, was wreckt there and wrote an account of the islands for the benefit of his countrymen. The Bermudas did not, however, become vivid to Englishmen or arrest their attention until the shipwreck of Sir George Somers, who set out with nine vessels in 1609 to carry men and supplies and support in every form to the struggling colony of Jamestown in Virginia. It was an expedition of large size and much importance, destined to sustain England's first tottering foothold in the great new world of America and it attracted a corresponding amount of interest in that period of adventure by land and sea as well as in the realms of thought and imagination. The fleet encountered a severe storm. Sir George Somers, "Admirall," with Sir Thomas Gates, the Governor and Captain Newport, in their vessel the *Sea Venture* were driven from their course and wrecked on the Bermudas. The rest of the fleet, some eight vessels in all, kept on to Virginia and were of much concern to American history but wholly beyond the ken of Prospero's Island. The casting away of Sir Thomas Gates and Sir

George Somers on the Bermudas, whence they ultimately made their way to Virginia, attracted widespread attention in England and we have no less than four accounts of it. There is first Sir George Somers' own brief letter to the Earl of Salisbury of June 20th, 1610[1]—second, a tract of twenty-eight pages published in 1610 entitled A True Declaration of the Estate of the Colonies in Virginia[2]—third, a tract published in 1610 entitled, "A Discovery of the Bermudas, otherwise called the 'Ile of Divels,' by Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Sommers and Captayne Newport, with divers others, set forth for the love of my country and also for the Good of the Plantation in Virginia by Sil Jourdan"[3] and finally, there appeared "A true reporie of the wrack and redemption of Sir Thomas Gates, Knight; upon and from the Islands of the Bermudas; his Comming to Virginia, and the estate of that Colonie there, and after, under the government of the Lord La Warre July 15, 1610. Written by Wil.

[1] Lefroy's 'Discovery and Settlement of the Bermudas.' Vol. 1, page 10.
[2] Force's 'Historical Tracts.' Vol. III, No. 1.
[3] Under another title this tract is given as No. III in Force's 'Historical Tracts.' Vol. III.

Strachy, Esq."[4] In the last three of these tracts there were abundant details and ample material for the storm with which the 'Tempest' opens and for a description of the islands. There was no necessity whatever nor any reason to compel or induce Shakspere on the eve of his retirement to seek out as Mr. Kipling suggests in the pit of the theater or elsewhere drunken sailors in order to extract from them information to aid him in making his play. He had all his accounts of shipwreck and of his island ready to his hand in the printed narratives of intelligent eye-witnesses. Still less was it needful that in order to create Stephano and Trinculo he should converse with and incite to drunkenness sailors who strayed into his theater. During his many years in London in the great period covering the Armada and the widest and wildest sea adventures sailors combined with intoxication had probably not escaped an observation which it may be safely said was neither languid nor dull.

However this may be there is certainly no escape from a recognition of the strong

[4] 'Purchas his Pilgrimes.' MacLehose edition. Val. XIX, page 5.

family likeness between the storms pictured in the three tracts and that which with such complete vividness opens the 'Tempest.' In his admirable and most illuminating essay on the 'English Voyages of the Sixteenth Century'* Sir Walter Raleigh says: "The tales of these adventures, brought by word of mouth, or publisht in the 'Discovery of the Bermudas, otherwise called the Ile of Divels' a tract by Silvester Jourdan, one of Sir George Somer's company, gave the finest and subtlest wit in the world a theme for a play. The 'Tempest' is a fantasy of the New World. It is too full of the ether of poetry and too many-sided to be called a satire, yet Shakspere, almost alone, saw the problem of American settlement in a detached light; and a spirit of humorous criticism runs riot in the lighter scenes. The drunken butler, accepting the worship and allegiance of Caliban and swearing him in by making him kiss the bottle, is a fair representative of the idle and dissolute men who were shipped to the Virginia Colony. The situation of Miranda was perhaps suggested by the story of Virginia Dare, granddaughter of Captain John

* MacLehose edition of Hakluyt. Vol. XII.

White, the first child born in America of English parents. She was born in 1587 and christened along with Manteo, one of the Indians who had visited England with Captains Amadas and Barlow. That same year she was abandoned, along with the other colonists. In 1607 when the settlement was next renewed it was reported that there were still seven of the English alive among the Indians (four men, two boys and one maid). The strange girlhood of this one maid, if she were Virginia Dare, may well have set Shakspere's fancy working. And the portrait of Caliban, with his affectionate loyalty to the drunkard, his adoration of valor, his love of natural beauty and feeling for music and poetry, his hatred and superstitious fear of his taskmaster, and the simple cunning and savagery of his attempts at revenge and escape—all this is a composition wrought from fragments of travelers' tales, and shows a wonderfully accurate and sympathetic understanding of uncivilized man."

It is a little surprising that Sir Walter Raleigh should have selected Jourdan's narrative alone as a source of Shakspere's material, even though the title words 'Ile of

Divels' suggests the cry of Ferdinand when he leaps overboard,

Hell is empty,
And all the devils are here.

Like the other two tracts it contains an excellent account of the storm, too long for quotation, and a good account of the island. But Strachy is more elaborate and contains one passage not found in the other narratives which comes much closer to the 'Tempest' than anything to be found elsewhere. Strachy says: "During all this time, the heavens look'd so blacke upon us, that it was not possible the elevation of the Pole might be observed: nor a starre by night, not sunne beame by day was to be seene. Onely upon the Thursday night Sir George Somners being upon the watch had an apparition of a little round light, like a faint starre, trembling, and streaming along with a sparkeling blaze, halfe the height upon the Maine Mast and shooting sometimes from shroud to shroud, tempting to settle as it were upon any foure shrouds; and for three or foure houres together, or rather more, halfe the night it kept with us; running sometimes along the Maine yard; to the very end, and

then returning." Strachy goes on with much learning to explain the manifestation and says, "the Spaniards call it Saint Elmo, and have an authentique and miraculous Legend for it."

This is the way Shakspere describes it:

PROSPERO—Hast thou spirit,
Performed to every point the tempest that
I bade thee?
ARIEL—To every article.
I boarded the King's ship; now on the
beak,
Now in the waist, the deck, in every cabin,
I flam'd amazement: Sometimes I'd divide,
And burn in many places; on the topmast,
The yards and bowsprit, would I flame
distinctly,
Then meet and join. Jove's lightnings, the precursors
O' the dreadful thunder-claps, more momentary
And sight-outrunning were not: the fire,
and cracks
Of sulphurous roaring the most mighty
Neptune
Seem to besiege, and make his bold waves
tremble,

Yes, his dread trident shake.

Conjecture is not strained if we conclude that Shakspere must have read the narratives of the wreck of the *Sea Venture,* for taken in connection with the description of the storm, the appearance of Ariel as the St. Elmo's fire actually seems to put such a belief almost beyond the range of possible coincidence. We can readily admit also that there is much ground for Sir Walter Raleigh's opinion that "the Tempest' is a fantasy of the New World," a fitting close to the long series of plays which had found in the old world both their plots and their scenery.

As has been already pointed out, the connection of the 'Tempest' with the shipwreck of Sir George Somers and hence, in the popular mind at least, with the Bermudas was fully shown by Malone, in an elaborate discussion of the subject more than a century ago. Malone's view as to the meteorological, marine and geographical sources of the 'Tempest,' if such unpoetical words may be permitted, was in fact generally accepted and unquestioned down to 1902. In that year Dr. Edward Everett Hale, in a short

paper which he read before the American Antiquarian Society, suggested another model or original for the picture of Prospero's Island set before us in the 'Tempest.'

This new candidate for the honor of furnishing poetic material to Shakspere is an island known by the singularly unmelodious name of Cuttyhunk, which lies off the southern coast of Massachusetts, one of a chain of islands at the mouth of Buzzards Bay. Both name and place seem incredibly remote from Shakspere and sixteenth century London. When we find, however, that the group which includes Cuttyhunk bears the name of Elizabeth and the little town existent upon it is called Gosnold we begin, as the children say, to get warm. Elizabeth requires no comment. Gosnold the town is named for Bartholomew Gosnold, an early explorer and navigator who came to the coast of New England in May, 1602, and finally lighted down on the island which still commemorates his existence. The adventurers liked the island and the captain planned to winter there with part of his company. They went so far indeed as to build a house, the cellar walls of which were still

extant not many years ago. The men, however, became dissatisfied, those who had volunteered to stay lost heart, the plan of wintering on the island was given up and on the 18th of June they set sail and reached Exmouth on the 23d of July, a "bare five weeks," which was a voyage of extraordinary celerity for a small sailing vessel. There were three accounts of the voyage written and two of them were publisht in 1602. The first document is a letter from Gosnold himself to his father; the second an account of the voyage by Gabriel Archer, and the third a 'Brief and True relation of the Discovery of the North Part of Virginia,' by John Brereton.[1] It will be observed at once that the storm, the St. Elmo's Fire and the date[2] which connect the Somers' shipwreck so closely with the 'Tempest' are all lacking in the Gosnold Voyage. But in the case of the latter there is a personal connection with Shakspere which may be said to assure us of Shakspere's knowledge of Gosnold and his

[1] All these may be conveniently found in the Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society. Vol. VIII, Third Series, page 68 and ff.

[2] Dr. Hale assigns the 'Tempest' to 1603, which is untenable and of course an error.

island. Brereton's narration is addressed to Sir Walter Raleigh as the head of the movement to Virginia but the financial backer of Gosnold was the Earl of Southampton, for in his 'History of Travails into Virginia'[1] Strachy says "He (Southampton) lardgley contributed to the furnishing out of a Shipp to be commanded by Captain Bartholomew Gosnold and Captain Bartholomew Gilbert;" this "shipp" was the *Concord* which made the voyage to the South Coast of New England in 1602. Southampton was Shakspere's friend and in that period of intense interest in voyages and discoveries we may be sure that Shakspere was especially familiar with those which were supported by his patron. The storm, as has been said, belongs wholly to Somers' shipwreck but when we come to the island and its natural productions, the case is quite different. The vegetable and animal life which we find mentioned in allusions by the personages of the 'Tempest' agree with those described by Gosnold and not with those of the Bermudas.

The following table gives, I believe, a list

[1] Printed for the Hakluyt Society, 1849, page 153.

of the birds and animal life alluded to in the 'Tempest':

Act I—Scene 2—

Sycorax confined Ariel in "a cloven pine"
Prospero: "will rend an oak"
Caliban: "Water with Berries in't"
"The fresh springs, brine pits"
Ariel: "Yellow sands"
Prospero: "The fresh brook muscles, withered roots and husks where the acorn cradled"

ACT II—Scene 1—

Gonzalo: "How lush and lusty the grass looks! how green!"

Act II—Scene 2—

Springs, Berries
Caliban: "Where crabs grow"
Hedgehogs
Pignuts
Adders
Jay's nest
Marmoset
Filberts
"Young scamels from the rocks"

Act III—Scene 2—

Ferdinand: "Some thousands of these

logs" (Logs constantly referred to for burning)

Caliban: "I'll not show him where the quick freshes are" (Springs again)

ACT IV—Scene 1—

Iris: "Here on this grass plot"

Ceres: "This short-ground green"

ACT V—Scene 1—

Prospero: "Jove's stout oak"

The Pine and Cedar

By analizing this list we reach very easily a comparison between the sources of 1602 and those of 1610.

The famous "yellow sands" of Ariel's song tell us nothing, for they exist both in the Bermudas and the Elizabeth Island. They are well known in the former and nothing can be more brilliant than the sand dunes of Cape Cod and the adjacent islands, glittering beneath the noontide sun, which greeted Gosnold and his companions as they greet our eyes today unchanging and unchanged. "Young scamels" have given birth to many pages of discussion, all fruitless. No one knows what is referred to and the Oxford Dictionary declares the meaning of

"scamel" to be uncertain. The "jay" altho of wide range is a bird characteristic of New England. The "Marmoset" ("Marmazet," as the folio has it) is found solely in tropical America, is not an inhabitant of either group of islands and probably appears in the play because Shakspere happened to think of the word and liked it. "Hedgehogs and adders" are English and altho common to New England yield no clear indication of place. "Pignuts," or ground-nuts, are mentioned specifically by Gosnold. So also are fruits and hazel-nut trees, which cover "Crabs," or apples, a Northern fruit, and "filberts" of the hazel family.

It is when we come to the larger features of the natural growths of the islands that the resemblance with the descriptions of Cuttyhunk in 1602 grow most striking. "Logs" are referred to repeatedly in the 'Tempest,' and the principal occupation of Gosnold's men was cutting sassafras logs, which formed the chief part of their cargo when they returned. The oak and pine are mentioned more than once, as the table shows. Both are distinctly Northern trees, not indigenous to the Bermudas. But

Brereton says: "This island is full of high timbered oaks their leaves thrice so broad as ours; cedars, straight & tall; beech, elm, holly &c." Cedars are mentioned in the play and in the accounts of both groups of islands but the cedar has many varieties and flourishes in a wide range of climate. The principal trees of the Bermudas are cedars and palmettos. In all the narratives of 1610 the palmetto figures very largely and if the Bermudas had been in Shakspere's mind when describing Prospero's Island it is difficult to understand how he could have omitted the palmetto which was the strongest bit of local color at his disposal.

There are two features of the landscape which Shakspere makes conspicuous to us in Prospero's Island, the grass and the springs, Caliban's "quick freshes," Gonzalo says, "How lush and lusty the grass looks! how green!" In Act IV, in the Masque, Iris says, "Here on this grass plot"—and Ceres, "This short-grass'd green." If we turn now to the narratives which Shakspere read we find that Strachy in his description of the Bermudas say the soil "is dark, old, dry and incapable of any of our commodities &

fruits." He also says that there are "no rivers or running springs of fresh water to be found in any of them" (the Bermudas). Turn now to Brereton: "Also many springs of excellent sweet water and a great standing lake of fresh water near the sea-side, which is maintained with the springs running exceedingly pleasantly through the woody grounds which are very rocky,"—very like the swamps and standing pools into which Ariel led Sebastian and Trinculo. Again Brereton refers to "many plain places of grass" and "to meadows very large and full of green grass," and he also mentions the successful planting of English seeds. All this is in direct contrast with the dry, semi-tropical character of the Bermudas and in entire harmony with Prospero's Island.

All the Somers' narratives emphasize the enormous number of wild hogs found in the Bermudas upon which the shipwrecked company chiefly lived. There is no mention of a hog in the 'Tempest.'

Remembering then that all Shakspere's information about these various islands must have come from the contemporary tracts, it is clear that in general character of soil,

climate and production Prospero's Island corresponds with Gosnold's island and not with the Bermudas which were so attracting public attention at the time of the composition of the 'Tempest.' It may be fairly said that while it is certain that the natural productions of Prospero's Island distinctly are not consonant with any description or even possibility of the Bermudas they might well be merely English trees and grass and flowers given to the scene of the 'Tempest' because Shakspere liked to have it so adorned. Yet as he evidently had the New World in his mind and was using the narratives of adventurers for material, the coincidence of the attributes of the island of Prospero with those mentioned by Gosnold, with whom Shakspere had a peculiar tie, is too marked to be overlooked. The flowers, grass, trees and springs alluded to in the 'Tempest' are in the main English in character, but they cover very well, very exactly even, the chief elements of Archer's and Brereton's narratives. It is not therefore going very far to suppose or to infer that while Shakspere found his material for the storm, the wreck and the St. Elmo's fire in Strachy and Jour-

dan, he reverted to Brereton and Gosnold, the friends of his patron Southampton, for suggestions as to the island itself because better suited to the scene and the purposes he had in mind.

The inquiries and the theories of Malone and of Dr. Hale possess the unfailing interest which attaches to any probable or possible discovery of the sources from which Shakspere drew the material which under his magic touch was converted into poetry, into imaginings which would forever delight the world. Wherever he may have passed the obscure and the lost come back to the light. Unremembered men live again and dusty pamphlets telling of forgotten deeds assume a vivid interest merely because his eyes may perhaps have rested upon them. We must admit that it is after all merely speculation and guesswork but possest none the less of an unfailing fascination. Search and reason and conjecture as we will, however, the mystery of genius is still unexplained and fortunately must always remain so. Yet I am personally quite sure that I know well where Prospero's Island was, where it is indeed at this moment. It lies off the sea-coast of

Bohemia, not far from Illyria where Viola met Malvolio and Sir Toby Belch and Sir Andrew Aguecheek and where Feste is still singing in the moonlit garden: the Athens known to Oberon and Titania is within easy reach and hard by is the Forest of Arden. It is part of that beautiful land where we can escape from the cares that infest the day, where sorrows for an hour cease to weigh us down, where we forget ourselves, where we can sit by Miranda and with hearts full of gratitude to the greatest and most beneficent of geniuses can join with her in crying out:

"O brave new world that has such people in't."

HENRY CABOT LODGE.

(1918.)

PROSPERO'S ISLAND

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Three years ago I was preparing for a lecture on Gosnold, which I delivered before the Lowell Institute. I read again with great interest the four reports which we have in the twenty-eighth volume of the 'Massachusetts Historical Society's Collections,' of Gosnold's voyage of 1602. I had often read them before.

But on this occasion when I came to the cutting of the sassafras logs by the "gentlemen adventurers," I could not but recall a fifth writer of Elizabeth's time who spoke of the cutting of logs (undoubtedly of sassafras). I took down my 'Tempest' and read the stage directions which represent Ferdinand entering Prospero's cave "bearing a log." If you recollect, the conversation which follows has immediate reference to the hardship of this cutting of logs.

Ferdinand— . . . I must remove
some thousands of these logs and pile
them up. . . .

Miranda—

I would the lightning had
Burned up those logs. . . .
If you will sit down
I'll bear your logs the while,
Pray give me that, I'll carry it to the pile.

And in the other group of performers,

Caliban—[Enter Caliban with a burden of wood.]

Thou mayest brain him . .
with a log.

And again,

I'll get thee wood enough.

And again,

Here comes a spirit of his, and to torment me
For bringing wood in slowly.

This suggestion of a bit of local color in the 'Tempest' set me at once re-reading the four narratives of Cuttyhunk, with reference to Shakspere's local knowledge of that voyage of Gosnold's. Any person who gave the account of the Gosnold voyage in brief would say that "here was a small island, heavily wooded, with little brooks of fresh water where the ship could supply itself." He

would describe the arrival of the small vessel in one of those coves from which two parties of men go out, one of whom contracted a jealousy for the other,—the "gentlemen adventurers" and the seamen. What the "Gentlemen Adventurers," who write our accounts, say of the seamen is greatly to their discredit. These parties go to work separately, and the gentlemen cut sassafras logs for the return cargo. They are lost out at night in a storm. They are obliged to feed on the products of the island, which prove to be mussels from the streams, pignuts dug from the ground and wamels or sea mews from the rocks. In their description of the island they speak of it as a small island, heavily wooded, with little brooks of fresh water.

Now, when you turn to Shakspere you find that the vessel arrives at one of the coves of an island after the tempest, from which two parties straggle off into the island, which is small and heavily wooded, with little brooks of fresh water. One of these parties is kept out in the woods in a storm of thunder and lightning, and the food of the island appears in what Caliban says to the

sailors when he is trying to persuade them to give him more liquor:—

I'll show thee the best springs; I'll pluck thee berries;

With my long nails I'll dig thee pig-nuts, show thee a jay's nest, and instruct thee how to snare the nimble marmoset. I'll bring thee to clustering filberts; I'll get thee young sea-mews from the rock.

This parallel was so close that I immediately lookt up the relation of Gosnold's voyage to Shakspere and the 'Tempest.'

It appears at once that the *Concord,* Gosnold's vessel, was sent out by the Earl of Southampton, Shakspere's patron. The Earl of Southampton was responsible for the whole thing. Immediately on their return to England, having quarreled with each other, all parties must have had to proceed to Southampton's house in London and tell their story. Now, observe, that William Shakspere is on Southampton's staff at that moment, probably living with him, and that he is contemplating, already, probably, writing the 'Tempest.' I think the critics now all unite in saying that the date of the production of the 'Tempest' is 1603. This cor-

responds exactly with the time of Gosnold's return. In Southampton's house, Shakspere must have met the drunken sailors on one side, and the "gentlemen adventurers" on the other. He heard there, possibly for the first time, of mussels from the rocks, of pig-nuts, of scamels from the rocks, whatever they were, and the rest of the bill of fare of the island. From the narrative he learned "how lush and lusty the grass looks, how green." "Meadows very large and full of green grass," is Brereton's phrase. And a trace of the unfortunate quarrel between the "gentlemen adventurers" and the seamen runs all thru the play. One doesn't wonder, indeed, that "gentlemen adventurers" who campt out for the first time in the Cuttyhunk woods, were able to supply Shakspere with some suggestions as to Calibans with long nails, as to devils and as to Ariels.

In brief, I think there can be no doubt that the local coloring of the 'Tempest' is in part derived from the narrative of Gosnold's adventures. This conviction gave me courage to say, before an audience of the Lowell Lectures, that we have a right to claim Miranda as a Massachusetts girl.

Here are six or eight of the most obvious of the parallels between the accounts of Gosnold, Archer and Brereton, on the one side, and Mr. William Shakspere, Caliban, Prospero and Ferdinand on the other.

Brereton's bill of fare:—

> . . . Fowls which breed . . . on low trees about this lake, whose young ones . . . we ate at our pleasure."
>
> "Also great store of ground nuts, forty on a string,—which nuts we found as good as potatoes. Also divers sort of shell-fish as mussels . . . etc."

Brereton's scenery:—

> "Lakes of fresh water . . . meadows very large and full of green grass."

Shakspere:—

> "How lush and lusty the grass looks—how green."

Shakspere speaks of a *marmoset,* never in any other play. Did one of Southampton's seamen bring home a flying squirrel?

Gosnold's bill of fare:—

> "Stearnes, geese and divers other birds which did breed upon the cliffs, being

sandy with some stones,—and had young."

Caliban's:—I'll get thee young sea-mews (scamels) from the rock."

Gosnold's:— . . . herbs and roots and *ground nuts* . . . mussel-shells . . . ground nuts again.

Prospero to Caliban:—"Thy food shall be the fresh-brook mussels,—roots and herbs."

Gosnold's party—"Driven to lie all night in the woods—weather somewhat rainy —" "Solaced ourselves with Alexander,—*ground nuts* and tobacco."

'Tempest,' stage direction:—
"A noise of thunder is heard."
"The storm is come again."

Gosnold's island:—"full of oaks . . . hazle-nut trees, . . . fowls on low trees whose young ones we took and ate at pleasure,—great store of ground nuts."

Caliban as above—"sea mews from the cliffs" and "dig thee pig-nuts with my long nails. I will bring thee where crabs grow"—not crab-apples, as the critics supposed, but shell fish, as we

learn from Gosnold's voyage: "lobsters, *crabs* and mussels."

From Archer's List:

"Strawberries, red and white raspberries, gooseberries, whortleberries."

Caliban:—I'll show thee best springs. I'll pluck thee berries. I'll fish for thee, and get thee wood enough."

It is to be observed also, that the only trees mentioned in the 'Tempest' are oak, pine and cedar.

In closing this paper I may say personally that my own convictions that Shakspere workt from close conversation with the people from the *Concord,* is confirmed by the observation that the 'Tempest' does not contain one tropical allusion. Here was Shakspere who must have met Hawkins and Drake and many adventurers, from the Gulf of Mexico and tropical seas. He is describing an island which is in communication with the vext Bermoothes. Yet there is no allusion to an orange, a banana, a yam or a potato, a feather cloak or a palm tree, or a pineapple, or a monkey, or a parrot, or anything else which refers to the Gulf of Mexico, or to the tropics. Does not this seem

as if he meant that the local color of the 'Tempest' should be that which was suggested by the gentlemen adventurers and the seamen who were talking of Cuttyhunk, its climate and its productions, as they told travelers' stories up and down in London?

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